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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE EDUCATION OF SAINT AUGUSTINE

by

Edward Paul Simms

(B.S. in R.E., Boston University, 1930)

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Master of Arts

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INTRODUCTION

In the educational life of Aurelius Augustinus, pagan, Christian, Bishop of Hippo Regius, Saint, can be seen the Roman - Christian interaction of the late fourth century. It would be indeed difficult to select another example where the conflicts between early Christianity and pagan culture are more clearly apparent. Augustine's life was full of activity, mental and physical and spiritual. While appearing to speak of all mankind, he is referring to himself when he writes,

"for Thou madest us for Thyself,
and our heart is restless, until
it repose in Thee." ¹

After a close study of his life and activities, one is impressed with the intensity of Augustine. Wholeheartedly he gave himself to whatever attracted his attention. He did nothing by halves. His body, mind, and soul were the property of the ideal which he followed. His passionate activities, his sensitive nature, his restlessness until he had reached his desired goal, his keen and searching intellect, all denote various phases of the conflict.

There is no dearth of material about Augustine. Almost every aspect of his life has been recorded and comm-

1 - Augustine, Confessions of St. Augustine, Book 1-1, p.1.

ented upon most lengthily. He was himself a prodigious writer. He has attracted more attention than almost anyone else in history, ecclesiastical or secular. By Dr. J. C. Ayer in his "Source Book of Ancient Church History," Augustine is called, "the greatest of the Latin fathers and the most powerful religious personality of the Western Church."² As might be expected, we can best learn about the man from himself. Augustine's volume entitled "Confessions" furnishes the best insight into the man's heart and mind as well as conditions which surrounded him in those days. The book itself seems strange to a citizen of the Twentieth Century. Augustine is constantly leaving his reader to speak to God. The importance of the Confessions cannot be denied.

"Of his works, the Confessions are the most widely known, as they have become a Christian classic of edification of the first rank. They give an account of his early life and conversion, but are more useful as showing his type of piety than as a biography. From them is learned the secret of his influence upon the Western world."³

The Confessions were written in 397-8 A.D. Augustine is looking at his boyhood days in perspective. Many authors question the ability of anyone to write accurately about anything so variable as one's reactions to life after the intervention of so many years. One such author is Joseph Mc Cabe;

2 - Ayer, J. C., Source Book of Ancient Church History, p.433.
 3 - Ibid p.434.

"Now, the Confessions may be fine literature, but they contain an utterly false psychology and ethics. About the year 400, when they were written, Augustine had arrived at a most lofty conception of duty and life; he commits the usual and inevitable fallacy of taking this later standard back to illumine the ground of his early career. In the glare of his new ideal, actions which probably implied no moral resistance at the time they were performed, cast an appalling shadow. The astronomer has invented an instrument which dissipates the excessive splendour of the sun, and permits him to examine its disc in broad daylight. We must use something like a moral spectroscope, a humane discretion, in approaching Augustine's unregenerate life in his Confessions." ⁴

The testimony of a secular historian attests well the importance and influence of Augustine on all history;

"The great organizing genius of the western branch of the Church was Saint Augustine (354-430). He gave to the Western or Latin Church, then beginning to take on its separate existence, the body of doctrine needed to enable it to put into shape the things for which it stood. The system of theology evolved before the separation of the eastern and western branches of the Church was not so finished and so finely speculative as that of the Greek branch, but was more practical, more clearly legal, and more systematically organized." ⁵

Many pages might be filled with tributes and testimonies of representatives of all fields of life, all of whom claim Augustine as their ideal and their very own. Poets, teachers, historians, preachers, leaders, and sellers of

4 - Mc Cabe, Joseph, St. Augustine and His Age, p. 24.

5 - Cubberly, Ellwood, P., The History of Education, p. 96.

words, vie with each other to be among the first to pay their respects to such a character.

"Augustine, the man with upturned eye, with pen in the left hand, and a burning heart in the night (as he is usually represented), is a philosophical and theological genius of the first order towering like a pyramid above his age, and looking down commandingly upon succeeding centuries. He had a mind uncommonly fertile and deep, bold and soaring; and with it, what is better, a heart full of Christian love and humility. He stands of night by the side of the greatest philosophers of antiquity and of modern times. We meet him alike on the broad highways and the narrow footpaths, on the giddy Alpine heights and in the awful depths of speculation, wherever philosophical thinkers before him or after him have trod. As a theologian he is facile princeps, or at least surpassed by no church father, scholastic, or reformer. With royal munificence he scattered ideas in passing, which have set in mighty motion other lands and later times!"

Singular it was that military forces as well as intellectual forces found at the same time - opposition at Hippo. Resolutely, Augustine met all issues, whether personal, civil, or ecclesiastical, resting only when assured that he had crushed out for all time every spark of opposition. The struggle which was reflected in the life of "so small a boy" and "so great a sinner", such a powerful pagan but magnificent Christian, has with great concentration burned its way down the centuries even to the present day without

would, the work which came to be known as the "Book of the Day"

their respective to each a chapter.

"...the two with unbroken eye,
and bow in the last hour, and a burning
heart in the night (as he is usually
represented), in a religious and
theological sense of the first order
focusing like a pyramid above his eye,
and looking down commandingly upon
subordinating centers. He had a mind
unusually fertile and deep, and
seeing; and with it, what is better,
a heart full of Christian love and
humility. He attended at night to the
side of the greatest religious of
antiquity and of modern times. He
met his ally on the broad highway
and the narrow footpath, on the
right of the balance and in the world
of the imagination, wherever religion
and the human mind are in contact
he have found. He a theologian he is
theological, or at least suggested
by no other father, and he is
religious. His royal majesty he
carried with him in his heart, which have
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losing its heat or effectiveness. He met and fought battles on various levels as he rose in life, and he was constantly rising.

"I have neither concealed nor veiled any of the faults of Augustine's youth, differing herein from certain well-meaning but mistaken encomiasts who seek to reduce to naught the peccability of saints and converts, without pausing to consider that it is precisely in the fact that they have succeeded in rising from the depths of sin and soaring to the stars that their glory resides and that the power of Grace is made manifest. The deeper the valley, the stronger the light upon the heights." ⁷

The beautiful aspects of a man's life may be increased in beauty by contrast with the more ugly, while the more ugly may lose some of its ugliness by contact with the beautiful. Each needs the other to prove itself in its correct status. We remember him today as, Augustine, an example of a conflict.

PAGAN EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

A. INTRODUCTION

The educational structure of the fourth century was a complex one, reflecting the influence of both pagan and Christian traditions. The primary goal of education was to prepare the young men for the public life of the state, which included the study of literature, history, and philosophy. This was done in a variety of settings, from the private home to the public school. The curriculum was broad and included the study of the classics, as well as the practical skills of rhetoric and law. The teacher was a central figure in the educational process, and his role was to guide the student through the various stages of learning. The system was designed to produce a well-rounded individual who was capable of contributing to the state and the church.

CHAPTER ONE

PAGAN EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

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CHAPTER ONE
PAGAN EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

A. ROMAN ORGANIZATION

The civilization into which ^{of the 4th century} ~~Augustine was born~~, was Roman - ruled and Greek - cultured. For many years it had been a splendid thing to be a Roman. So true was this, that pride and arrogance became synonymous with Roman citizenship. A map of that time shows us a vast stretch of land, bordering about the Mediterranean Sea, called the Roman Empire. Its expanse was enormous. The southern and western sections of Europe, western Asia together with northern Africa paid tribute to Rome as their head. The Romans were specialists in government, law and order.

As a nation the Romans were composed of farmers, and herdsmen, soldiers, governors, and executives. The Roman government had the facility to expand and absorb with ease its conquered tribes. In it all, the Roman government exercised great technique. It did not attempt to impose its rule, ways and modes of thought upon the conquered ones. The officials recognized the fact that small group loyalties could be better handled if they were permitted to keep their own right to live and at the same time be fostered by a larger government. This may be taken as the secret of the organizing genius of Rome.

A more intimate glimpse of the Roman citizen can be obtained from the writings of the German historian Mommsen;

"Life in the case of the Roman was spent under conditions of austere restraint, and the nobler he was the less was he a free man. All - powerful custom restricted him to a narrow range of thought and action; and to have led a serious and strict life, or, to use a Latin expression, a grave and severe life, was his glory. Nothing more or less was expected of him than that he should keep his household in good order, and unflinchingly bear his part of counsel and action in public affairs. But while the individual had neither the wish nor the power to be aught else than a member of the community, the glory and the might of that community were felt by every individual burgess as a personal possession to be transmitted along with his name and his homestead to posterity; and thus, as one generation after another was laid in the tomb and each in succession added its fresh contribution to the stock of ancient honours, the collective sense of dignity in the noble families of Rome swelled into that mighty pride of Roman citizenship to which the earth has never, perhaps, witnessed a parallel, and the traces of which - strange as they are grand - seem to us whenever we meet them to belong, as it were, to another world. It was one of the characteristic peculiarities of this mighty pride of citizenship that, while not suppressed, it was compelled by the rigid simplicity and equality that prevailed among the citizens to remain locked up in the breast during life, and was only allowed to find expression after death; but it was displayed in the funeral of the man of distinction so intensely and so conspicuously that this ceremonial is better fitted than any other phenomenon of Roman life to give us who live in other times a glimpse of the wonderful spirit of the Romans." ⁸

With this individual pride, there was formed a nation who gave to the world an inestimable legacy. Rome unified most of the ancient world into one empire with Latin as a common speech, coinage and law. It developed a language from which many modern tongues have come. We enjoy today the routine of city government to which Rome gave form and character.

It was not until 300 B.C. that primary schools were developed in Rome. The ideals of education at that time were modesty, firmness, prudence, piety, courage, seriousness, and regard for duty. These were taught by precept and example. Over the training the father held complete authority. The mother too, shared in the training. Morality, character, obedience to parents and to the State, and whole-hearted service were emphasized. It was the boy's father who taught him to read, write and count. The results of the education of this early period are described by Macaulay in his Horatius;

"Then none were for the party,
But all were for the State;
And the rich man loved the poor,
And the poor man loved the great.
Then lands were fairly portioned
And spoils were fairly sold;
For the Romans were like brothers
In the brave days of old." ⁹

This continued until 146 B.C. when the conquest of Greece made a radical change in the entire Roman structure. The

9 - Macaulay, T. B., Lays of Ancient Rome. Horatius XXXII, p.48.

first introduction of Grecian education into Rome was when Linus Andronicus, captured at Tarentum, translated Homer into Latin. The Hellenization of Rome's intellectual life was the result.

The Latin poet Horace expressed his opinion of the situation in the following words;

"Captive Greece took captive her rude conqueror,
And brought the arts to Latium." ¹⁰

B. GREEK EDUCATIONAL CONTENT

The conquest of Greece and of the countries in which Greek civilization existed worked a complete change in the life and plans of Rome. Thousands of Greeks went there or were brought there as captives. Thousands of Romans engaged in trade with Greek lands, or went to the East as soldiers or officials. Greek literature and art, Greek ways of living and ideals became known at Rome and were received as the latest novelty. The effect upon the Roman character was entirely unexpected. The Romans suffered in much the same way as peoples on a lower plane of civilization suffer today when brought by conquest under the influence of a more highly civilized race. They did not take only the best in the Grecian civilization, but yielded to the vices and weaknesses of a more highly developed people. The Roman writer tried to imitate Greek models as did the Roman artists.

10 - Cubberly, E. P., The History of Education, p. 62
Quoting Horace

By coming in contact with Greece, Rome lost her belief in her own institutions. She went so far as to recognize the rights of the individual freeman, whether a Roman or foreigner. All of this was a rude shock for Rome. This change of attitude had its drawbacks, however. In the everyday life of the citizens the practices of the fathers lost much of their power and they were no longer obeyed without question. The simple life, ability to endure hardship, upright conduct and the maintenance of personal dignity and independence did not continue any longer as they had before. Men developed a craving for the comforts of life, and in order to get them were willing to sacrifice their honesty and self-respect. These changes had their very vital effect upon the Roman character and it was not good for the future of Rome.

The influence of Greek culture was extremely effective because it was brought to bear directly upon the young people. Magnificent gymnasiums were erected and lavishly decorated. Wealthy Romans as well as the young men spent much time there. Their time was also taken in studying Greek. The most significant of these facts is that the training of the youth of Rome was entrusted to professional Greek teachers who were often slaves in the households. So it was that while the citizenry were Roman-born, they were intellectually, Greek-trained.

"So completely did the Greek educational system seem to meet the needs of the changed Roman State that at first the Greek schools were adopted bodily - Greek language, pedagogue, higher schools of rhetoric and philosophy, and all, - and the schools were in reality Greek schools but slightly modified to meet the needs of Rome." 11

It is not to be assumed that this change did not meet with protest. It met most bitter opposition from influential Romans who foresaw the sacrifice of their traditions if the change were permitted to be effected. Cato the Elder was a leader in this protest and his book on Roman education is really a protest against the Hellenic invasion. Two legal steps were taken to stem the tide. The first was in 161 B.C. when the Roman Senate directed the Praetor to see "that no philosophers or rhetoricians be suffered in Rome."

"In the consulship of Caius Fannius Strabo, and Marcus Valerius Messala: the Praetor Marcus Pomponius moved the Senate, that an act be passed respecting Philosophers and Rhetoricians. In this matter, they have decreed as follows: "IT SHALL BE LAWFUL for M. Pomponius, the Praetor, to take such measures, and make such provisions, as the good of the Republic, and the duty of his office, require, that no Philosophers or Rhetoricians be suffered at Rome." 12

This edict was followed by another but to no avail. Greek education had captured the hearts and fancies of the people of Rome. The tide was an overwhelming one and from 27 B.C.

11 - Cubberly, Ellwood P., History of Education, p. 62.

12 - Cubberly, Ellwood P., Readings in History of Education, p. 33
quoting from Suetonius, Lines of Eminent Rhetoricians, Chap. 1.

on, we find the Roman schools, Roman in form but Grecian in content.

The system developed from this conflict was a most efficient one training for a definite object. To be a lawyer or holder of public office was still a Roman ambition and it was this ambition which had a strong influence in shaping the curriculum of study.

The entire course of study had four divisions. It began with the elementary school, *ludi* or primary school, which the child attended during the ages of six or seven to twelve. It was ruled by a *Ludi Magister* who instructed in reading, writing and reckoning. During the ages of twelve to sixteen the child attended the secondary or Latin Grammar school, presided over by a *Grammaticus* who gave instruction in grammar and literature. The ages of sixteen to eighteen or nineteen found the pupil at the collegiate schools of rhetoric, where the instruction was given by a *Rhetor* in the famous "Seven Liberal Arts", grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. An interesting opinion upon the teaching of rhetoric is given by Suetonius;

"Rhetoric, also, as well as grammar, was not introduced amongst us till a late period, and with still more difficulty, inasmuch as we find that, at times, the practice of it was even prohibited....However, by slow degrees, rhetoric manifested itself to be a useful and honorable study, and many persons devoted themselves to it both as a means of defense and of acquir-

ing a reputation. In consequence, public favor was so much attracted to the study of rhetoric that a vast number of professional and learned men devoted themselves to it; and it flourished to such a degree that some of them raised themselves by it to the rank of senators and to the highest offices." ¹³

From the ages of eighteen or nineteen to twenty-one and twenty-five only a select few from the student body attended the Greek Universities, where they received their instruction from a Professor in Law, Medicine, Architecture, Mathematics, Grammar, and Rhetoric. The Romans put their stamp upon the Greek content by making it strictly formal, rigid, and unwavering. Needless to say, this education was not available to all. The entire system was voluntary and had to be paid for by the parents. Many times the education of the child was in direct proportion to the family exchequer. It was a definite preparation for political and governmental careers. Transmission of thoughts by the spoken word was the Roman ideal. Therefore, every study which could directly or indirectly influence one's speech for the better was included for its influence. Cicero's opinion is directly to the point;

"For when our empire over all nations was established, and after a period of peace had secured tranquility, there was scarcely a youth ambitious of praise who did not think that he must strive, with all his endeavors,

13 - Cubberly, Ellwood P., *History of Education*, p. 69.
Suetonius - *Lives of Eminent Grammarians and Rhetoricians*



to attain the art of speaking. For a time, indeed, as being ignorant of all method, and as thinking there was no course of exercise for them, or any precepts of art, they attained what they could by the simple force of genius and thought. But afterwards, having heard the Greek orators, and gained an acquaintance with Greek literature, and procured instructors, our countrymen were inflamed with an incredible passion for eloquence." ¹⁴

The man who could pay for it secured this education for his son. The great mass of Romans could not afford it. For the slave class which had its thousands, there was none.

C. THE DIVIDED CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE

At the period which we are discussing, the Early Church had already gone through three centuries of severe birth-pains, rigid restrictions, and persecution. The life of the early Christians was of a most intimate nature and not at all formal. It had attracted as an early and new organization only those of rejected positions and many of the slave status. The home was still the main source of inspiration and real instruction. Yet the time came even to the members of the then few Christian families to desire more education for their children than could be gotten at home. They would

14 - Cubberly, Ellwood P., History of Education, p. 37
Quoting from Cicero De Oratore, Book 1.

quite naturally turn to see what was offered outside the home. They met an appalling situation. They saw an organization which served as a machine to turn out influential public men. Greek mythology was the dominant content of literature, oratory and religion. The same child lived in a Christian atmosphere where the gods of Olympus were denied and in a school atmosphere where the gods of Olympus were affirmed. At this point there was a conflict between Sinai and Olympus. M. Boissier in La Fin du Paganisme, says;

"All the schools were pagan. Not only were all the ceremonies of the official faith - and more especially the festivals of Minerva, who was the patroness of masters and pupils - celebrated at regular intervals in the schools, but the children were taught reading out of books saturated with the old mythology. There the Christian child made his first acquaintance with the deities of Olympus. He ran the danger of imbibing ideas entirely contrary to those which he had received at home. The fables he had learned to detest in his own home were explained, elucidated, and held up to his admiration every day by his masters." 15

It was not long before the Christian body was divided into two factions, holding differing opinions with regard to pagan education, conciliatory and hostile. Those who were interested in the aesthetic and worldly interests of the Church were sympathetic towards the whole pagan structure. They

15 - Cubberly, Ellwood P., History of Education, p. 93 quoting Boissier, M., La Fin du Paganisme, Vol. 1, p. 200.

claimed that they desired the Greek content for the beauty which it contained. The philosophic interests seldom if ever recognized the non-intellectual claims of life, therefore, they looked upon the Greek culture and overlooking the superstitions of the common people, saw only the high contemplations of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Therefore, they were in favor of the whole Greek tradition. The universality of the system attracted them. The politically-minded bishops and officers of the Church were not greatly affected by this school situation. Such church leaders as Origen and St. Basil were numbered among those friendly to the Greek content.

This group was rigidly opposed by a group of stern moralists, Tertullian, Arnobius, Lactantius and Jerome. Tertullian was both an ascetic and a moralist. At one time he had said to Rome, "We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you - cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum. We leave you your temples only."¹⁶ Although this was an exaggeration it shows the nature of the man. Monroe tells us that Tertullian looked with disfavor upon the cultivation of emotions and the artistic side of life. It was this phase of life in which he was especially interested. His work was in Carthage, and he became the first Christian thinker to write in Latin and is therefore

16 - Monroe, Paul, Textbook in the History of Education, p. 241

called by some, the Father of the Latin Church. The very vocabulary of the Greek language was associated with philosophy and speculation. Latin was connected with organization, therefore, when Latin is used there drop out many speculations. In Latin is the rigor and vigor of the Romans. Formerly a lawyer, Tertullian brought into his Christian experience his whole legal background. From his day onward, the Western Church used Latin. In his mind, education and heresy were synonymous. He said, "What indeed, has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What concord is there between the academy and the Church, what between heretics and Christians?"¹⁷ He conceived of Greek philosophies as thoroughly detrimental to Christian faith and Christian tradition. For Tertullian all that is to be known has been given in Revelations. To make religion contingent upon learning is to rob it for Tertullian. He believed that Christianity gave him the final truth. He made philosophy Christianity's handmaid. For philosophy to be the heights for a man to dwell was blasphemy for him.

Greek moral laxity was taken for granted. It was a given term in history. It was a deep and bitter struggle in which the ancient world found itself when it found that its intellectual shrine was as well a shrine of moral decay. Christian freedom would not allow them to return to the former confines of Hebrew Legalism even though that might

17 - Monroe, Paul, Textbook in the History of Education, p. 241

afford some safety in such a situation. It was a bitter conflict. It seemed that there was no place to which they could turn. Accordingly they turned inward. The natural reaction is a set of rules and restrictions. Such a volume was the Apostolic Constitutions compiled in the early part of the fourth century. It was intended as a manual of instruction in conduct and worship for the use of the clergy and the educated laity;

"Abstain from all the heathen books. For what hast thou to do with such foreign discourses, or laws, or false prophets, which subvert the faith of the unstable? For what defect dost thou find in the law of God, that thou shouldest have recourse to those heathenish fables? For if thou hast a mind to read history, thou hast the books of the Kings; if books of wisdom or poetry, thou hast those of the prophets, of Job, and the Proverbs, in which thou wilt find greater depth of sagacity than in all the heathen poets and sophisters, because these are the words of the Lord, the only wise God....Do thou, therefore, utterly abstain from all strange and diabolical books." ¹⁸

When the third century came to a close there was a definite opposition against pagan learning. Saint Augustine, in his Confessions, hopes that God may forgive him for having enjoyed Vergil. Three centuries later we hear an echo of this conflict when Gregory the Great turned bitterly against the whole pagan learning. "I am strongly of the

opinion," he says, "that it is an indignity that the words of the oracle of Heaven should be restrained by the rules of Donatus."¹⁹ Even still later he writes, "the praise of Christ cannot lie in one mouth with the praise of Jupiter. Consider yourself what a crime it is for bishops to recite what would be improper for religiously-minded laymen."²⁰

As a direct result of all of this bitterness, Hellenic culture and training declined and in 401 the Council of Carthage at the direction of Saint Augustine, forbade the clergy to read any pagan author. In time the Greek influence died out in the West but it had strained the fighting forces of Christianity to their utmost.

19 - Cubberly, Ellwood P., History of Education, p. 95
20 - Ibid

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CHAPTER TWO

AUGUSTINE, an EXAMPLE OF THIS CONFLICT

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CHAPTER TWO
AUGUSTINE, an EXAMPLE OF THIS CONFLICT

A. THAGASTE, THE CITY OF HIS BIRTH.

The lad who was afterwards to become a Saint, Aurelius Augustinus, was born Sunday November 13, 354, in Thagaste, a small town of Numidia in the province of Constantine. The city which was then known as Thagaste is now seen on the map as Souk-Arras, in Algeria. The map further shows us that it is located in north-west Africa, isolated by a range of mountains, lofty and majestic, extending from Tunis to the Atlantic. The territory about it is in the form of a natural amphitheatre. In the fourth century this territory was dominated by the historic Carthage. The home of an independent thinker as it was destined to be, yet we learn that the land itself was ever a dependency.

"Very early in history the Phoenicians wrested it from its native population, and built up the kingdom of Carthage on its fruitful soil. Rome made utter wreck of their work, and in its turn created a dependent African kingdom. In the fifth century a Teutonic race swept over it from the west; in the seventh the Arabs poured over it from the east. And the modern traveller finds himself wandering in a vast world of tombs, from which the last degenerate sons of the Prophet are emerging at the bidding of a new conqueror." ²¹

The land about fell in a series of broad plateaus, with steep ridges down to the shore of the Mediterranean. Great estates could be seen stretching over the landscape. It was this land which served as the granary of Rome and day by day the slaves and the native Libyans, toiled in the hot sun that idlers in Rome might not starve. The neighboring towns of Thubursicum, Thagura, Madaura and Theveste bore the same distinguishing marks. Great Roman roads connected the cities and towns and over these roads Imperial couriers carried the dictates and wishes of the Emperor. This was Africa of the fourth century, a country upon which Rome made her demands and one upon which penalties were inflicted if the commands were not honored.

"These conditions notwithstanding, Africa gave pagan Rome many of her most famous authors, from the comic Terence to the magic Apuleius, and to Christian Rome Africa gave many of her doctors and saints, from Cyprian and Tertullian to our own Augustine. This vast continent, which was termed barbaric and dark, has had its part, and that an important one, in the spiritual history of mankind. Light came to Europe not from the Orient alone but from the South as well. The most remote and enduring civilization the world has known was developed in Africa; in Africa one of the most heroic and zealous churches of early Christianity came into being. From Africa came Neo-Platonic thought; from Africa the first perfect experiment in monasticism. Just as ancient Italy appeased her hunger with the corn of Egypt and Libya, so throughout the ten centuries of the Middle Ages did the whole of Christ-

ianity feed upon the thoughts that had emanated from the fertile, lucid and generous brain of an African from Tagaste." ²²

Augustine was descended from the Numidians who under the leadership of Jugurtha had stood out against the domination of Rome. That this same feeling against Rome had been handed down in the blood of Augustine is held by some when they read the opening chapters of his "City of God" where he records with no reservation his opinion and denunciation of the Roman's ruthless lust of conquest.

Thagaste was a small and unimportant town of Numidia about fifty miles to the south of Hippo. It was a pleasant place and a town to which the dwellers of the deserts came with anticipation and pleasure.

"It is a laughing place, full of greenery and running water. To the Africans it offers a picture of those northern countries which they have never seen, with its wooded mountains covered by pines and cork trees and ilex." ²³

It was not a capital but it had an importance of its own. It was conveniently situated at the junction of many Roman roads offering itself as a place for the exchange of goods. In its market-places might have been seen Numidian wines, flocks of Aures, leather, dates, and the esparto basket-work of the regions of the Sahara. Towns such as Thagaste had their own municipal organization,

22 - Papini, Giovanni, Saint Augustine, p. 18

23 - Bertrand, Louis, St. Augustin, p. 13

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and it was permitted to exercise its own initiative to a great extent provided the taxes for the Imperial Treasury and the corn for the Imperial tables were sent on according to schedule. Many of these towns were miniature imitations of Rome itself. The rich men of the town sported their togas with an air of superiority and arrogance identical with that of their brothers of the city of Rome. The poor and the slave class were conspicuous by their presence in both places. But beauty was not denied even to these. It showed itself in everything, in the architecture of the homes, in the organization of the towns, in their public buildings; all of these served to stimulate a love for Beauty. Their bathing-halls were paved with mosaics, their halls of oratory were ornamented with statues, nymph-fountains occupied the public squares while tall stately columns, inviting the eye if not the spirit graced the streets and entrances. That all of this was appreciated by Augustine cannot be doubted. One of such a sensitive nature reached first with childish desire for the magnificent, towering columns but later gave them up for pleasures of a more dubious beauty nearer at hand. Both Louis Bertrand and Dr. Marlatt have paid their tribute to the beauty of this town, Bertrand in singing prose while Dr. Marlatt in swinging verse describes Augustine's reaction to it.

"A laughing boy,
 He loved columns,
 Because they towered skyward.
 A passionate youth,
 He loved beauty
 And lost his way in the clouds.
 A learned man,
 He found his sky again
 And, higher than the mists of midnight,
 Built the City of God
 With towers that touched the stars." 24

Into such an environment of beauty and sensuousness, languid atmosphere and Roman business, Augustine was born. To forget for one moment that he was an African is to forget how to interpret his life. He reflected with crystal-clearness, his background and surroundings. He longed for Rome, but when he arrived there he became homesick for Carthage. He felt out of place without the African atmosphere even as today the story of his life is out of joint if studied without the African background.

"As ardent as the sun of his native land, sensual and passionate like all of his race, his thought and writings rich in vigor igneus, Augustine, is the greatest of all Africans. Although he wrote in the language of Virgil and was guided by Platonic thought until the Hebrew Paul threw open to him the realms of light, in certain characteristics he remained an African to the end of his days.

The instruments, moreover, that gradually led him to salvation were destined to come to Augustine the African out of Africa. Apuleius the Numidian first inspired him with a taste for Platonic mysticism; Platonius the Egyptian revealed God to him as a pure spirit; the example of Victorinus the African strengthened his desire to give himself up to Christ and finally another

African, Pontitianus, by acquainting him with the heroic life of Anthony of Egypt, drove him, still reluctant, to the baptismal front." ²⁵

B. HIS PARENTS - PATRICIUS AND MONNICA

The parents of Augustine were Patricius and Monnica. Patricius was a man of his time, rather well-to-do if we are to judge by the requirements of the time and not by Augustine's later modesty. He was a curiale. The municipal government was carried on by officers known as the Curiales and Decuriones, who usually inherited the offices from their fathers. It was a merciless system. They assumed with their office the responsibility of the taxes of the city and it was they who paid them in case some member of the community defaulted. It was an honor, but this arrangement made it at many times, uncoveted. Men were known to join the army, journey into barbaric lands, enter monasteries and even the service of the palace to escape the questionable honor of being a curiale. One of the requirements was that the one holding the office should be the owner of at least twenty-five acres of land. We are safe in assuming that Augustine's parents were not as poor as he would have us believe. Patricius was able to afford pedagogues for his children when they attended school, a fact which would deny at first sight his son's statement.

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Patricius was a pagan as well. This was not uncommon at that age when we remember that Christianity had behind it but three centuries of history and those none too pleasant. Patricius could easily withstand the pleas of his friends to become a Christian and he could tell them even as he did on one occasion, "I am only waiting till you agree among yourselves, to see where the truth lies." That he was never at any time a persecutor of Christianity would seem to prove that fact that it suited his disposition to be a pagan. As one he could with very little pain on the part of his conscience, indulge to his heart's content in all of the pagan licentiousness. As a public citizen, Patricius no doubt found it more convenient to be a pagan. He could not only escape the taunts which might be hurled at him but he could also keep unruffled the feelings of his fellow-statesmen. That this had its influence financially cannot be denied. The year before the birth of his son, Augustine, Patricius knew that Constantine had issued an edict renewing the order for the closing of the temples and the abolition of sacrifices under the pain of death. But the provinces of Numidia were a long distance from the city of Rome and this fact encouraged an easy going attitude toward Christianity. The rich landowners had ignored Constantine's latest action and behind their walls, in their beautiful gardens, they continued to sacrifice and feast. That Patricius was not openly or avowedly antagonistic to Christianity is proven by the

fact that he married a Christian. He was extremely kind-hearted and at the same time subject to fits of rage when he would become so violent that his wife's safety was endangered. Augustine did not love him. The first mention the son makes of his father in his Confessions is one of exception. Augustine has recorded an account of an illness which he had just suffered, an illness which was so severe that his mother was about to have him baptized. He was restored and accordingly was not baptized then in keeping with the belief that if he remained unbaptized, his sins would be of less account than they would be if he were baptized.

"And so, as if I must needs be again polluted should I live, my cleansing was deferred, because the defilements of sin would, after that washing, bring greater and more perilous guilt. I then already believed; and my mother, and the whole household, except my father: yet did not he prevail over the power of my mother's piety in me, that as he did not yet believe, so neither should I. For it was her earnest care, that Thou my God, rather than he, shouldest be my father; and in this Thou didst aid her to prevail over her husband, whom she, the better, obeyed, therein also obeying Thee, who hast so commanded." 26

Hunting, horseback-riding, occasionally a parade, casual trips on which he overlooked his small-holders and agricultural slaves, driving bargains which involved a few

cents and an enormous amount of time, these were the activities of Patricius. He was distinctly a man of temperament, changeable as the ocean's waves. He too, was inclined to the polygamy of his time, an indulgence which was smiled at in men but frowned upon if the women took similar advantages. Papini says;

"Augustine did not love him, nor was it possible he should love one of Patricius' temperament. The son was well aware that the passions - lust, ambition and greed of gain - which it would cost him so fierce a struggle to conquer, had come to him from his father. Augustine became what he is and what he will remain to all eternity - a saint - only by suppressing in himself all that was of his father. He is the son of Monica and of Grace. Patricius was but the instrument of sin that was necessary to clothe his spirit in flesh." 27

Monnica was a splendid Christian of such esteem that she has been canonized by the Church. She was born of Christian parents whose parents before them had borne the brunt of the persecutions. She was not born a saint. A story which comes down to us from her girlhood gives us evidence that she was most strikingly human in her appetites. All of the homes had in their cellars the thick, violet-scented wine of Numidia. At times, Monnica was sent down to get some for the table. She tasted it one day and soon acquired a liking for it. A maidservant seeing her drinking on one occasion called her by the name of meribibula which means tippler or a sot. It was enough. Monnica was cured of her taste for

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wine. She was sensitive, tender and lovable. Patience she wore as a crown but with all of these virtues, her son Augustine deserves great credit for the fact that his mother has been sainted. She was married at the age of fourteen or fifteen, not uncommon in that country, to Patricius and to him she bore four children, two boys and two girls. The names of the boys were Augustine and Navigius. The names of the two girls are lost to us. Monnica was a young woman of remarkably good sense. The way in which she handled her husband when he was indulging in a fit of anger was a splendid testimony of this. She loved her son Augustine and he loved her. She had for him all of the ambitions which any true mother would have for her son; a desire that he have wealth and the comforts of life along with fame and prominence. While Patricius was a luke-warm pagan, Monnica was a Christian with a heart burning for the salvation of her son. She knew only too well from her own husband the temptations which the town of Thagaste offered, and woman-like she talked to Augustine about them, warning him of their lure. Persistently she continued after him, now coaxing, now pleading till the very end. It is quite possible that her other children also felt this influence for one of the daughters later became a nun, and superior of a convent in the diocese of Hippo. Monnica presided over her home in approved fashion. All came to her for aid. Her judgment was known throughout the town and the happiness

which she radiated was dispersed freely in her household. There was about her a gentle mysticism which at times seemed to transport her from the realms of the earthly.

C. AUGUSTINE'S HOME LIFE.

It was in such a home life that Augustine spent his first moments on earth. It was here that he came:

"For then I knew but to suck; to repose in what pleased, and cry at what offended my flesh; nothing more. Afterwards I began to smile; first in my sleep, then waking:...Thus, little by little, I became conscious where I was; and to have a wish to express my wishes to those who would content them...So I flung about at random limbs and voice, making the few signs I could, and such as I could, like, though in truth very little like, what I wished." 28

It is these days in this beautiful atmosphere of which Augustine writes and by the increased piety of his later years colors with his doctrine of original sin. Much of it is unconscious exaggeration on his part caused by the intervening chasm of years. It was here that he learned to talk:

"This I remember; and have since observed how I learned to speak. It was not that my elders taught me words (as, soon after, other learning) in any set method; but I, longing by cries and broken accents and various motions of my limbs to express my thoughts, that so I might have my will, and yet unable to express all that I willed,

or to whom I willed, did myself, by the understanding which Thou, my God, gavest me, practise the sounds in my memory. When they named anything, and as they spoke turned towards it, I saw and remembered that they called what they would point out, by the name they uttered. And that they meant this thing and no other, was plain from the motion of their body, the natural language, as it were, of all nations, expressed by the countenance, glances of the eye, gestures of the limbs, and tones of the voice, indicating the affections of the mind, as it pursues, possesses, rejects, or shuns. And thus by constantly hearing words, as they occurred in various sentences, I collected gradually for what they stood; and having broken in my mouth to these signs, I thereby gave utterance to my will." 29

Time passed and as Augustine grew, there grew with him a passion for play. Children's games of all sorts appealed to him. He enjoyed best the games in which he could lead. He had his brother and sisters to play with in the home and later it was the children of the neighborhood who assisted in the search for pleasures afield.

He tells us in his Confessions: "I loved to play." He threw his whole self into his games even as he did into sterner ventures of later life.

"When Augustine recalls the games of his childhood, he mentions only "nuts," handball, and birds. To capture a bird, that winged, light, and brilliant thing, is what all children long to do in every country on earth. But in Africa, where there are plenty of birds, big people as well as little love them...If he loved birds, as a poet who knows not that he is

a poet, did he love as well to play at "nuts"? "Nuts", or thimble-rigging, is only a graceful and crafty game, too crafty for a dreaming and careless little boy. It calls for watchfulness and presence of mind. Grown men play it as well as children. A step of a staircase is used as a table by the players, or the pavement of a courtyard. Three shells are laid on the stone and a dried pea. Then, with rapid baffling movements, hands brown and alert fly from one shell to another, shuffle them, mix them up, juggle the dried pea sometimes under this shell, sometimes under that,- and the point is to guess which shell the pea has got under. By means of certain astute methods, an artful player can make the pea stick to his fingers, or to the inside of the shell, and the opponent loses every time. They cheat with a calm shamelessness. Augustine cheated too - which did not prevent him from bitterly denouncing the cheating of his fellow-players." 30

To cheat, to lie occasionally, to steal, all of these details went to make up the life of the African lads of Augustine's day.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AT THAGASTE

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CHAPTER THREE

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AT THAGASTE

A. ENVIRONMENT AND ATMOSPHERE

It is doubtful whether the elementary schools existed before the process of Hellenization. If the ludus ('play' or 'exercise') as the elementary school was called, did exist as far back as the first century of the Republic, it was simply a supplement to the training which the children received in the home. Whatever their origin, it is probable that at first they taught reading, writing and reckoning. The place where the instruction was given was called a pergula, indicating a shed or booth in front of a house similar to stalls used for exhibiting goods for sale. When used as a school it had curtains which could be lowered and shut out public view. It was provided with benches (subsellia) for the pupils to sit upon, and stools (scamella) for their feet. The master sat in a chair (sella, cathedra) raised on a platform (pulpitum), and each pupil came forward when called to recite his lesson. Those parents who could afford to do so sent their children to school accompanied by a trained slave, a pedagogue who carried their school paraphernalia, a box (capsa, scrinium), which could be slung on the arm, containing the writing materials, book-rolls, tablets, and reckoning-stones

(calculi), which they needed at school. The pedagogues were sometimes called capsarii when they performed this task.

While the pupils were studying their lessons the pedagogues waited in a room at the side, an outer hall, (proscholium.) The cloaks of the children were hung here. On the walls of the school-room were hung pictures of events which had occurred in mythology and history. This would indicate that the teachers believed that the pupils could learn by seeing as well as hearing. Only incidentally was geography taught although maps were at that time becoming familiar. In a prominent place was the master's rod (ferula) the sign of his authority. The elementary school on the whole had but very poor material equipment.

School began very early in the day, sometimes before sunrise and continued at times long after dark. Among the Epigrams of Martial, a Spaniard who lived from 43 to 104 A.D. is to be found a comment on this situation;

"What right have you to disturb me,
abominable schoolmaster, object ab-
horred alike by boys and girls?
Before the crested cocks have brok-
en silence, you begin to roar out
your savage scoldings and blows.
Not with louder noise does the metal
resound on the struck anvil, when the
workman is fitting a lawyer on his
horse; nor is the noise so great in the
large amphitheatre, when the conquering
gladiator is applauded by his partisans.

We, your neighbors, do not ask you to allow us to sleep for the whole night, for it is but a small matter to be occasionally awakened; but to be kept awake all night is a heavy affliction. Dismiss your scholars, brawler, and take as much for keeping quiet as you receive for making a noise." ³¹

There was a short intermission in the middle of the morning for lunch. This heavy program was balanced somewhat by the fact that no home lessons were given and there were numerous holidays for religious and public festivals. Every ninth day was a market day.

B. ITS TEACHERS AND CURRICULUM

The State for a long time did not exercise any supervision over the schools or provide in any way for their maintenance. They were private enterprises, undertaken and conducted by individuals, who were generally slaves or freedmen, and often Greeks or of Greek parentage. Looked down upon as "starveling Greeks" they held an unenviable position in the society of that day. Elementary teaching could hardly be recognized as a profession. No license or qualifications were required to teach in these schools and the remuneration was very small. The pupil made a present to the master, usually at an understood rate while other masters left this matter entirely to the child's parents. There was much complaint that parents

³¹ - Cubberly, E. P., Readings in the History of Education, p.36

were slow in their fees and often forgot them if the boy did not progress the way they thought he should. Later, under the reign of Diocletian, in an effort to relieve this strain prices were legally fixed at approximately \$1.20 per month per pupil for teaching reading and \$1.80 for arithmetic.

The first step in teaching to read was to obtain familiarity with the forms and sounds of letters. This was done to the neglect of the visual aspect of learning. Quintilian strongly opposed this for he held the opinion that it prevented the pupil from recognizing a letter when he saw it again having stressed memory and not sight in the learning of them. Both reading and writing were taught by much the same methods as in the Greek schools. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a Greek historian tells of the method of reading as taught there in Roman methods;

"When we learned to read was it not necessary at first to know the names of the letters, their shape, their value in syllables, their differences, then the words and their case, their quantity long or short, their accent, and the rest?

Arrived at this point we began to read and write, slowly at first and syllable by syllable. Some time afterwards, the forms being sufficiently engraved on our memory, we read more cursorily, in the elementary book, then in all sorts of books, finally with incredible quickness and without making any mistake." 32

After mastering the letters, the pupils memorized all combinations of them that they could. The pupils generally repeated their letters and syllables aloud until they had committed them. Thus it can be seen that the memoriter method played a prominent part in the education. They then were taught reading and writing by means of exercises dictated by the master. Books were very scarce and only after a large number of slaves had been employed in copying was each boy able to have a book of his own. After they had learned to read, special attention was given to correct pronunciation. Difficult combinations of words were used to obtain intelligent expression.

"The characteristic feature of the Roman method of teaching to read, was a painstaking diligence, and a determination to lay once for all a solid foundation for the educational superstructure. A thorough knowledge of the phonetic value of each letter and of each simple combination of letters was insisted on before reading was attempted; so that the pupil might be able without difficulty to read even words which he had never seen or heard before. The texts used for read-lessons were generally the works of the poets. "The poets", says Horace, "shape the tender stammering lips of childhood." In old times the laws of the twelve tables were used in this way, and were also committed to memory, but Cicero says that since his boyhood this practise has fallen into disuse. The favorite poets were Livius Andronicus, whose translation of Homer was commonly used as a school text-book, and in later times Vergil and Horace. The works of Terence, Cato the Elder, and the "sentences" of Publilius Syrus were also used, and passages were chosen from them to be learned by heart." ³³



Writing followed reading. The pupils copied down from dictation and made their own books (dictata). There were two methods of teaching the pupils to form letters. One was that according to which the teacher placed his hand on that of the child and guided his fingers, following as example a head-line (praescriptum) which had been written out for imitation. The instruments used were common writing tablets composed of thin boards with a raised margin on the sides and between which the surface had been covered with wax. The pupils had also a metal point or stylus with which the lines were scratched on the wax. The stylus had a smooth, flat surface at the opposite end for the purpose of obliterating what had been written when necessary. The other method was one which consisted in carving on wooden tablets the forms of letters and causing the pupils to draw their stylus repeatedly over the grooves until they became familiar with the movements necessary to form the letters. After this elementary process had been mastered, the pupils were then permitted to use paper (papyrus) or parchment (membrana) and ink (atramentum). The pen (calamus, arundo) was made from a reed cut to a point while the ink was of lampblack made from burnt pitch. Sometimes the dark fluid obtained from the cuttle-fish was used as ink. The unused side of old parchment books which had not proved popular were also used for practising writing. The writing was all

in capital letters, and only the phrases were punctuated. The period only was used. If placed at the top of the line it meant our period; if in the middle, our comma; and if at the bottom, our semi-colon.

The reckoning which was taught was very elementary but most essential. It was learned by counting on the fingers, or by means of pebbles and later with the abacus or counting board.

"It was rectangular, but usually longer one way than the other, and was marked with parallel grooves, in which the pebbles (calculi) that denoted the numbers were moved. According to one system the pebbles on the lowest row denoted units, those on the next tens, and so on, the seventh groove from the bottom denoting millions. These seven grooves were each divided into two unequal parts, a pebble in the shorter section of each groove denoting five times as much as one in the longer...The Romans had an elaborate conventional method of expressing numbers by means of the fingers (digitis computare). By the fingers on the left hand could be expressed all the numbers from 1 to 100, by those on the right all the hundreds and thousands as far as 10,000, so that by using both hands together any number up to 10,000 could be denoted. It must have required long practice to be able to express or understand at once any number with a notation of this kind, but it was a necessary piece of knowledge, Quintilian says, "not only for the orator but for everybody who pretended to the slightest education. In pleading causes it becomes very frequently into use; and if the pleader is flurried in expressing his totals, or even if by an uncertain or ungraceful motion of the fingers he indicates the wrong number, he is set down as uneducated." ³⁴

The absence of a sign for zero was a great handicap to this Roman system which at its best was a very laborious method. It was tedious and this study above all others made necessary the strict discipline which the teachers attempted to enforce. Rigidly the pupils were held to their tasks enjoying a few brief pauses during the hours of school work to prevent over-fatigue. Quintilian and Martial are both of one mind when they plead for a greater leniency with the pupils at school.

"Quintilian strongly insists on the principle that every effort should be made to prevent the distaste for learning that is likely to result from too constant an application. With this object frequent change of subjects was recommended. "Variety itself", Quintilian says, "refreshes and reinvigorates the mind. Rest from writing is obtained by reading, and the fatigue of reading is in its turn relieved by a change to something else. However, many things we may have done, we are somehow always fresh for that which we are just beginning." ³⁵

While the plea of Martial differs slightly, the burden of it is quite the same;

"Schoolmaster, be indulgent to your simple scholars; if you would have many a long-haired youth resort to your lectures, and the class seated round your critical table love you. So may no teacher of arithmetic or of swift writing be surrounded by a greater ring of pupils. The days are bright, and glow under the flaming constellation of the Lion, and fervid July is ripening the teeming harvest. Let the Scythian scourge with its formidable thongs, such as flogged Marsyas of Celaenae, and the terrible cane, the schoolmaster's

sceptre, be laid aside, and sleep until the Ides of October. In summer, if boys preserve their health, they do enough." ³⁶

In such a manner did the youth of the land learn the rudiments required as a foundation if he expected to be an educated man. Wholly voluntary and in many aspects, distasteful, it remained a most necessary adjunct to the life of the day.

C. AUGUSTINE'S REACTION TO THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

At the tender age of six years Augustine entered the elementary school at Thagaste. His memories of it for the remainder of his life were most unpleasant. He looked upon it as a veritable inferno and upon the teacher as a demon. In later years his opinion mellowed somewhat but never did it lose its sense of early horror with which his first school days were filled. Augustine's nature was not one easily subjected to the discipline of another. Many were the rebellions which went on inside of his breast as he sat with the other boys and girls on the benches and sang, "one and one are two; two and two are four." He hated the school and the lessons. Greek received the major portion of this hatred.

"This schoolboy, who became, when his turn came, a master, objected to the methods of the school. His mind, which grasped things instinctively at a single bound, could not stand the gradual procedure of the teaching

faculty. He either mastered difficulties at once, or gave them up. Augustine was one of the numerous victims of the everlasting mistake of schoolmasters, who do not know how to arrange their lessons in accord with the various kinds of minds. Like most of those who eventually become great men, he was no good as a pupil. He was often punished, thrashed - and cruelly thrashed. The master's scourge filled him with an unspeakable terror." 37

He was but a child and the lure of the games appealed to him much more strongly than the school-room. He actually began his school-days by hating books and having this hatred encouraged within him by the activities of his teacher. His body could well withstand the beatings which he received at school but his sense of justice was outraged. And all of this was to be endured that he might "excel in tongue science."

"O God my God, what miseries and mockeries did I now experience, when obedience to my teachers was proposed to me, as proper in a boy, in order that in this world I might prosper, and excel in tongue science, which should serve to the "praise of men," and to deceitful riches. Next I was put to school to get learning, in which I (poor wretch) knew not what use there was; and yet, if idle in learning, I was beaten." 38

At this point we see the pitiful sight of Augustine forced to go to school but receiving there no sympathetic understanding, and finally in all desperation turning to the God of his mother for a last appeal. It was perhaps the first prayer he ever made but it is to be doubted whether any of his later ones had quite as much earnestness as did this first appeal for Divine intervention and mercy.

37 - Bertrand, Louis, St. Augustin, p. 44

38 - Augustine, Confessions, Book 1-14, p. 9

"But, Lord, we found that men called upon Thee, and we learnt from them to think of Thee (according to our powers) as of some great One, who, though hidden from our senses, couldst hear and help us. For so I began, as a boy, to pray to Thee, my aid and refuge; and broke the fetters of my tongue to call on Thee, praying Thee, though small, yet with no small earnestness, that I might not be beaten at school." ³⁹

But Augustine not realizing that he, too, would have to change his ways still continued to be beaten at school and when he sought pity at home he was laughed at not only by Patricius but by Monnica as well.

Augustine admits in speaking of his fellow-pupils that their "sole desire was to play" and that they shunned their lessons when they had the opportunity of doing so.

"Roman boys, like boys in our own times, occasionally shirked school, or contrived to feign illness in order to avoid reciting their lessons. The master hung up, where all might read it, a board with the names of pupils who absented themselves or had run away. Persius tells us that when a boy he used to rub his eyes with olive oil to give him the appearance of illness, though how oil would have that effect is not apparent. Pliny says that school children sometimes took cumin to make them pale." ⁴⁰

Augustine watched his teachers and saw that they did the thing for which he was continually punished.

"But elder folks' idleness is called "business"; that of boys, being really the same, is punished by those elders; and none commiserates either boys or men. For will

³⁹ - Augustine, Confessions, Book 1-14, p. 9

⁴⁰ - Clarke, G., Education of Children at Rome, p. 67

any of sound discretion approve of my being beaten as a boy, because, by playing at ball, I made less progress in studies which I was to learn, only that, as a man, I might play more unbeseemingly? And what else did he, who beat me? who, if worsted in some trifling discussion with his fellow-tutor, was more embittered and jealous than I, when beaten at ball by a play-fellow?" 41

The tense atmosphere of the school room made him more anxious than ever to lead when he left the room at the conclusion of his lessons. He confesses that he had a passion for lying and stealing and in these two practices he indulged. He lied to escape the vigilance of his masters and parents.

"But why did I so much hate the Greek, which I studied as a boy? I do not yet fully know. For the Latin I loved; not what my first masters, but what the so-called grammarians taught me. For those first lessons, reading, writing, and arithmetic, I thought as great a burden and penalty as any Greek. And yet whence was this too, but from the sin and vanity of this life, because I was flesh, and a breath that passeth away and cometh not again? For those first lessons were better certainly, because more certain; by them I obtained; and still retain, the power of reading what I find written, and myself writing what I will; 42

So Augustine on the step of adolescence was a rebellious scholar, one who did not hesitate to lie, to steal, to cheat, one who cared still for play more than the worthwhile things of life. His attendance at school had brought him hatred of it. This hatred, tempered by his devotion to Latin, he carried with him when sent by his parents to the grammar school at Madaura.

41 - Augustine, Confessions, Book 1-15, p.10

42 - Ibid

Book 1-20, p.12

CHAPTER FOUR THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT MADURA

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

The Grammar School at Madura was founded in 1811 by a group of English missionaries, and it has since that time been a center of education for the people of the district. It was the first school of its kind in the district, and it has since that time been a center of education for the people of the district. It was the first school of its kind in the district, and it has since that time been a center of education for the people of the district.

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CHAPTER FOUR
THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT MADAURA

A. ENVIRONMENT AND ATMOSPHERE

Thirty miles from Thagaste and connected with it by a great Roman causeway paved with large flags lay Madaura. It was a proud pagan city, one in which all of the pagan activities might be seen to their full advantage. It was a busy place. Long files of chariots carrying provisions, bishops on visitations, a litter with close-drawn curtains giving privacy to some great personage, vehicles drawn up on both sides of the road, messengers of the Imperial Post speeding through en route to a distant city, all of this furnished activity and excitement. It was an old Numidian city with a history of which it was proud. Formerly a fortress of King Syphax, afterwards the home of Apuleius it was now a very prosperous colony. Even as Thagaste it had its beauty. It had towers, statues and majestic porticoes of marble. Such an impression did these statues make upon the lad, Augustine, that in one of his letters many years later he describes them with unerring accuracy. Placed in a prominent place was a statue of Apuleius, the great man of Madura, the orator, philosopher, sorcerer, who was spoken of from one end to the other of Africa. Strange stories had grown up about him, stories which grew with each telling. He was looked upon as a sage and necromancer, one who held a

higher position than Christ.

In this pagan town, magic, suspicion and wizardry were in the air. Men watched the manner in which dishes were handed to them by the hand-maidens. They watched to see how the drink was poured out. They doubted even the food which they ate. Feverish and delirious credulity filled the air. All of this took place in buildings in which the Roman architects had shown their highest art. The symmetry and line-effect have not been equalled since except on rare occasions. There was little here to strengthen a Christian in his faith. The sights of the street, the plays at the theatre, the conversations, all tended to give little credence to Christianity.

"The festivals were frequent. The least excuse was taken to engarland piously the doors of the houses with branches, to bleed the sacrificial pig, or slaughter the lamb. In the evening, squares and street corners were illuminated. Little candles burned on all thresholds. During the mysteries of Bacchus, the town councillors themselves headed the popular rejoicings. It was an African Carnival, brutal and full of color. People got tipsy, pretended they were mad. For the sport of the thing, they assaulted the passers and robbed them. The dull blows on tambourines, the hysterical and nasal preludes of the flutes, excited an immense elation, at once sensual and mystic. And all quieted down among the cups and leather flagons of wine, the grease and meats of banquets in the open air." 43

We do not know with whom Augustine stayed while at Madaura but it is quite possible that it was with relatives. He was

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not in any way hampered as he traveled about the city and drank his fill of what it had to offer.

It is quite possible that he was brought to these pagan love feasts by those to whose charge he was intrusted. However, the Christian lessons which Monnica had taken the time to teach him became more and more blurred in his mind while the sensual beauty of paganism won him more closely. It is only to be expected that the teaching of the schools of this city would be pagan in content as well.

B. ITS TEACHERS AND CURRICULUM

In the secondary schools presided over by a grammaticus or litteratus, studies were directed towards the attainment of one main object - mastery of language. Attention was given to every study which would in any way influence the attainment of this goal. Grammar and literature were studied but we must give to both of these terms the broadest meanings possible if we are to properly understand what was taught. The poets and other authors were studied, both for the material and moral instruction to be found in them, and in no less degree for their style. To appreciate the poets, especially the lyric poets, some knowledge of music was thought useful. The numerous allusions to the heavenly bodies by the poets called for some acquaintance with the facts of astronomy, but this was probably given only incidentally and not then as a special study.

Attendance at these schools was wholly voluntary, and was confined entirely to the children of the well-to-do classes. The teachers were Greeks, or Latins who had been trained by the Greeks. Each teacher taught as he wished, but the schools throughout the empire became much the same in character. There were at Rome, Greek as well as Roman grammatici, who gave instruction in their own language similar to that imparted in the Latin schools. It was usual for the Greek instruction to begin a little earlier than the Latin.

"Quintilian even recommends that a child should learn to speak Greek before Latin, because he must learn Latin in the natural course of things without effort, but he does not approve of maintaining very long the habit of speaking Greek only, lest the purity of the child's Latin be spoiled." ⁴⁴

Homer and Meander were the favorite authors in Greek, and Vergil, Horace, Sallust, and Livy in Latin, with much use of AEsop's Fables for composition. Grammar, composition, elocution, ethics, history, mythology, and geography were all included in the curriculum. The athletic exercises of the Greeks were rejected, as contributing to immorality and being a waste of time and strength. The study of grammar made a strong appeal to the Roman mind with its careful study of words, phonetic changes, drill on inflections, and practice in composing and paragraphing. They recognized that the

44 - Clarke, G., Education of Children at Rome, p. 97

mastery of grammar was most essential to a successful orator and therefore made no mistake in placing great emphasis upon its study.

"Oratory was of greater and of more lasting importance at Rome than among the Greeks. Whereas the Greeks found an outlet for their higher intellectual interests in the philosophical schools and in the new religions, the Romans found in oratory the practical application of every aspect of higher learning that appealed to them. As Cicero explains in his *de Oratore*, the orator must have the philosopher's knowledge both of things and of human nature, but he must also have the power to make such knowledge of practical value in influencing his fellows through speech. To the Roman, then, this power of the orator represented in general the various ways in which an educated man in modern times can make his knowledge effective in the service of his fellow-men. It is not that this conception of education is narrow, but rather that the social organization of the times gave but few facilities for bringing intellect to bear upon practical affairs. The great warriors of the times were also great orators; they were often great leaders because great orators. The orator was greater than the philosopher, because the orator included the philosopher. The functions performed in modern society, by the pulpit, the press, the rostrum, the bar, the legislative debate, even the university, were in those times all performed by the orator." ⁴⁵

Literature followed the study of grammar and was intended to develop an appreciation for literary style, elevate the thought, expand one's knowledge, and train the powers of expression. The selection was first read by the teacher,

and then by the pupils. After the reading the selection was gone over again and the historical, geographical, and mythological allusions were carefully explained by the teacher. The text was next critically examined and finally the study was rounded out by a judgment. This placed a terrific responsibility upon the teacher.

"But do you, parents, impose severe exact-ions on him that is to teach your boys; that he be perfect in the rules of grammar for each word - read all histories - know all authors as well as his own finger-ends; that if questioned at hazard, while on his way to the Thermae or the baths of Phoebus, he should be able to tell the name of Anchises' nurse, and the name and native land of the step-mother of Anchemolus - tell off-hand how many years Acestes lived - how many flagons of wine the Sicilian king gave to the Phrygians. Require of him that he mould their youthful morals as one moulds a face in wax. Require of him that he be the reverend father of the company, and check every approach to immortality. It is no light task to keep watch over so many boyish hands, so many little twinkling eyes. "This," says the father, "be the object of your care" - and when the year comes round, receive for your pay as much gold as the people demand for the victorious Charioteer." 46

Heroic poetry was thought to be the best food for the young mind. Horace was also a common school text-book, and the comic writers Plautus and Terence were sometimes read. In reading, the pupil was taught to mark by a pause and by modulation of his voice the conclusion of sentences and the division of verses, to raise and lower his voice at the proper places, and to regulate his speed and expression according

46 - Monroe, P., Source Book in the History of Education, p.419
quoting Satire Seven of Juvenal.

to the characters of the subject. The main points sought after were a splendid style of elocution, an earnestness without harshness. Strict care was taken to avoid the sing-song rendering into which novices are so apt to fall.

"Before the pupil read his lesson the teacher probably first read it over for him, in order to show him how he wished it to be done. Then he made the sense of the passage clear, knowing that the first requisite of good reading is a thorough understanding. Difficult words and historical and mythological allusions were explained, and attention was called to poetical licenses, foreign words, figures of speech, unusual turns of expression, and the varying senses of words according to their context. Occasion was taken to impress on the pupil's mind the importance of orderly arrangement, and of the suitable treatment of different subjects and characters, to point out beauties of sentiment and diction, and to explain how in one place diffuseness, in another brevity, is desirable. To insure his perfect understanding of a passage the pupil was required to give a prose paraphrase of it, and to explain its metrical construction. Moral lessons were drawn from the words of the poet, and it was explained how the poet's fancy might make use of fictitious situations and characters to present valuable truths." ⁴⁷

In this way the reading lessons were made the means of instructions along many lines of thought. A large amount of time was spent upon memorizing passages from the poets. Many times pupils were encouraged to write original selections and recite them before the school. Care was taken that the expression of the face should correspond with the words then

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being spoken and that no unbecoming gestures be made with the head or arms.

"Quintilian says, "It is not enough to have read the poets only. Every kind of writer must be studied, not only on account of the history contained in them, but also for the language; for words often derive their rights from the authorities that sanction them. Further, grammar cannot be complete without a knowledge of music, as we have to treat of meters and rhythms; nor if a man is ignorant of the stars can he understand the poets, who, to pass over other points, so often use the rising and the settings of constellations as indications of time. Nor can the teacher of literature be ignorant of philosophy, not only because of many passages in almost all poems derived from a close and exact knowledge of the problems of nature, but also because of the poems of Empedocles in Greek, and Varro and Lucretius in Latin, who have taught the doctrines of philosophy through verse." 48

In the training of the grammar schools there is seen many times an encroachment upon the curriculum of the rhetorical schools.

The accommodations of the grammar school were much more superior to those of the elementary school. The schoolhouses were generally additions to larger buildings, and opened on the street. They were furnished with benches for the pupils and a higher seat for the teacher, and were often adorned with paintings and sculpture, especially portraits or busts of authors and scenes from history and mythology. The exacting duties of memorization necessitated the carry-

ing over of the strict discipline from the elementary schools. The placing of so much emphasis upon the memory turned the arrow of education backwards. The grammar might have been enlarged and developed into a splendid discipline. However the time was given to the reading and interpretation of certain authors who had become idealized. Knowledge was not pursued or imparted for its own sake but simply as a means of illustrating the revered words of the past. The pupils were constantly having their minds turned backwards and with their teachers they were chained to the past in such a way that originality and the production of further masterpieces was not encouraged. The teacher might indulge on occasions in a forward look but his real business was that of interpretation. Love of pure grammar was encouraged to the detriment of all else. Pupils were taught that the highest thing which they could do was to speak flawlessly. This was their aim and objective.

C. AUGUSTINE'S REACTION TO THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Augustine's thirty miles of travel from Thagaste to Madaura had not changed him to any great extent. He was still the reckless little lad of fourteen, looking for excitement and not caring particularly from which quarter it came. At this period of his life none of his friends would have thought for one moment that the lad with whom they played had such a contribution to make to the world.

"No man had a deeper influence on the thought life of his own and subsequent ages than St. Augustine. His contemporaries placed him in the foremost rank of theologians and this verdict has been sustained by the great critics of the following centuries. In philosophy he had the merit of being the first to synthesize the best elements of pagan inquiries into a coherent system of Christian thought and he was also the founder of the Christian philosophy of history, the first exponent of "the law of progress which governs the history of humanity and of which even those who fight against it become instruments in the hands of Providence according to Divine plan." In the field of education proper his contributions were no less remarkable. His multitudinous works contain many treatises or passages bearing on the purpose of education, its content and the methods of instructions to be used." ⁴⁹

He entered the grammar school and passed under the Vail, its symbol of standing and authority and sat before his gowned teachers. He no longer had the conflict which he endured at Thagaste, that of going to school and then upon leaving it finding all on the outside different from what he had been taught. The life about him here in Madaura gave a reality to the religious illusions of Virgil and Ovid. Remote towns like Madaura were not affected by the changes of imperial religious professions until well into the fifth century; and even then, Valentinian interfered very little. Augustine doubtless picked out the subjects which suited him and ignored all the rest. He had not wavered in his dislike for the Greek. He detested the men of Greece by instinct, and regarded them as rascals or amusers.

"Why then did I hate the Greek classics, which have the like tales? For Homer also curiously wove the like fictions, and is most sweetly-vain, yet was he bitter to my boyish taste. And so I suppose would Virgil be to Greek children, when forced to learn him as I did Homer. Difficulty, in truth, the difficulty of a foreign tongue, dashed, as it were, with gall all the sweetness of Grecian fable. For not one word of it did I understand, and to make me understand I was urged vehemently with cruel threats and punishments." 50

So he painfully kept at the Iliad and the Odyssey, losing his temper many times because he could not master it with ease. He readily preferred the Aeneid, the poem which gave so much attention to the founding of Carthage. Virgil was above all his favorite. He memorized practically all of it. So thoroughly did he submerge himself into the characters in the story that he wept genuine tears "for Dido slain." Here in Madaura he found that the gods of Olympus were held up as examples. In his boyish mind he could not distinguish the many aspects of the gods. The books from which he had learned his letters he now read for their content.

"Did I not read in thee of Jove the thunderer and the adulterer? Both, doubtless, he could not be; but so the feigned thunder might countenance and pander to real adultery. And now which of our gowned masters, lends a sober ear to one who from their own school cries out, "These were Homer's fictions, transferring things human to the gods; would he had brought

down things divine to us." Yet more truly had he said, "These are indeed his fictions; but attributing a divine nature to wicked men, that crimes might be no longer crimes, and whose commits them might seem to imitate not abandoned men, but the celestial gods." 51

The morals taught to the youths were the morals of the gods and all for the sake of eloquence. Never for one moment was this objective lost sight of.

"Hence words are learnt; hence eloquence; most necessary to gain your ends, or maintain opinions. As if we should never have known such words as "golden shower" "lap", "beguile", "temples of the heavens" or others in that passage, unless Terence had brought a lewd youth upon the stage, setting up Jupiter as his example of seduction.

-Viewing a picture where the tale was drawn,
Of Jove's descending in a golden shower
To Danae's lap, a woman to beguile.-

and then mark how he excites himself to
lust as by celestial authority;

-And what God? Great Jove,
Who shakes heav'ns highest temples with his
thunder,
And I poor mortal man, not do the same;
I did it, and with all my heart I did it.-

Not one whit more easily are the words learnt for all this vileness; but by their means the vileness is committed with less shame. Not that I blame the words, being, as it were, choice and precious vessels; but that wine of error which is drunk to us in them by intoxicated teachers; and if we, too, drink not, we are beaten, and have no sober judge to whom we may appeal." 52

His anger again is incurred by the manner and stress with which mere words are treated.

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"How carefully the sons of men observe the covenanted rules of letters and syllables received from those who spake before them, neglecting the eternal covenant of salvation received from Thee. Insomuch, that a teacher or learner of the hereditary laws of pronounciation will more offend men, by speaking without the aspirate, of a 'uman being, in despite of the laws of grammar, then if he, a "human being," hate a "human being" in despite of Thine." 53

Despite the condemnation which Augustine gives to these passages in later years he paid full allegiance with his heart and soul when he read such passages from his Latin as follows:

"Then, when the guests have gone their ways,
And the dim moon withdraws her rays,
And setting stars to slumber call,
Alone she mourns in that lone hall,
Clasps the dear couch where late he lay,
Beholds him, hears him far away;
Or keeps Ascanius on her knees,
And in the son the father sees,
Might she but steal one peaceful hour
From love's ungovernable power.
No more the growing towers arise,
No more in martial exercise
The youth engage, make strong the fort,
Or shape the basin to a port:
The works all slack and aimless lie,
Grim bastions, looming from on high,
And monster cranes that mate the sky." 54

Such poems as these had their effect upon the African youth of fifteen and well could Monnica wonder and worry about her Augustine at Madaura. Such stimulant and food did he receive for his boyish longings and dreams. Thus the scholar of Madaura lived wonderful hours dreaming the dreams which come from such instruction. He continued to study and some

53 - Augustine, The Confessions, Book 1-29, p. 18

54 - Conington, John, The Aeneid of Virgil, Book 4, p. 104

of his recitations were received with so much favor that his pride knew no bounds. He was truly a youth of much promise and one of whom his pagan father had a right to feel proud. It is believed that living there in Madaura, Augustine also gave much of his time to the study of the works of the hero of the town, Lucius Apuleius.

"In my opinion it was Apuleius who first freed Augustine from the worship of language for its own sake and of literature as such. That breath of mystery which emanates from his works awoke in the Numidian student the buried remains of Punic religiosity and enabled him to sense more deeply the mystery of Christianity. Perhaps on one of Madaura's mild evenings the future saint may have read in the Golden Ass that prayer which would remind him of words that were often upon his mother's lips. "Holy and perpetual refuge of humanity, munificent dispenser of favours to mortals, ever dost Thou succour the wretched with maternal affection. Not a day passes, not a night, not a single minute wherein Thou dost not grant Thy protection to man..." 55

Vacation time came and Augustine journeyed home to Thagaste. He was a changed lad. His school days spent in Madaura had not deepened his Christian impressions received from his mother. He had learned his school lessons only too well. The stories of Homer had dealt with war themes, giving great prominence to the wars between the Greeks and the Trojans. Ulysses, Achilles, Agammemon, Paris and Hector were the names which were placed and kept upon the tongues of the

pupils. These became their heroes and their activities became their patterns. Reading them at an impressionable age, the pupils as a rule threw themselves into the stories with all of their zeal. Immorality was the rule in the conduct of the gods. The worst failings of the humans had been taken up to them rather than their goodness brought down to men.

All of the major impulses of man had been personified and no attempt had been made to elevate them or eliminate the less desirable ones from among them. The moral and ethical standards were therefore of the lowest grade and the pupils were really required to reach down rather than to look up. Augustine "wept for Dido slain" and when the gods sinned, he too, sinned. He had received at Madaura more education it is true but education of such a nature that would cause him anguish in years to come. Augustine left Madaura for Thagaste with the intention of remaining there but for a limited amount of time but the period which he thought was to be but a few days amounted to a year.

D. AUGUSTINE'S YEAR AT HOME

It was just at this time that Patricius died. He had been busying himself trying to collect enough money to send his son to the rhetorical school at Carthage. He had been unsuccessful in this effort. So the son who thought that he would dash home for a short time was left fatherless

at this critical time. True, Monnica came to the front and tried to champion his cause but he brushed her aside with "her womanly talk."

"A great intellectual and moral crisis stifled for a time all these Christian sentiments. The heart was the first point of attack. Patricius, proud of his son's success in the schools of Thagaste and Madaura determined to send him to Carthage to prepare for a forensic career. But, unfortunately, it required several months to collect the necessary means and Augustine had to spend his sixteenth year at Thagaste in an idleness which was fatal to his virtue; he gave himself up to pleasure with all the vehemence of an ardent nature." 56

For days and months, Augustine lived the easy life of one who has tasted of a bit of knowledge and is now willing to rest on his reputation. With his friends he quite easily gave himself up to the pleasures of the town. To hunt, to eat, to drink, to go horseback-riding and to make love, these activities were the extent of his endeavors. With a particular friend of his named Alypius, he roamed the streets and with the same enthusiasm which had characterized him as a student he welcomed all of the pleasures that came.

"the briars of unclean desires grew rank over my head, and there was no hand to root them out...Behold with what companions I walked the streets of Babylon, and wallowed in the mire thereof, as if in a bed of spices, and precious ointments. And that I might cleave the faster to its very centre, the invisible enemy trod me down, and seduced me, for that I was easy to be seduced...The reins, mean time, were slackened to me,

beyond all temper of due severity, to spend my time in sport, yea, even unto dissoluteness in whatsoever I affected." 57

He was a member of any group which wanted to do something recklessly. Their vulgar revels bound them together and in their bonds of friendship they polluted each other with lewdness and an air of sensuality. They would commit evil acts for the mere thrill of doing them and not for the gain which they would derive therefrom. Even in this type of life Augustine wanted to lead and to draw his companions after him. And by his side was his admirer, Alypius;

"These two future shepherds of Christ roamed the streets with the lost sheep. They spent the nights in the open spaces of the town, playing, or wantonly dreaming before cups of cool drinks. They lounged there, stretched out on mats, with a crown of leaves on the head, a jasmine garland round the neck, a rose or marigold thrust above the ear. They never knew what to do next to kill time." 58

At a time such as this, Augustine might have been protected from such evil desires had he been permitted to marry. But this was the very thing which Monnica wished to prevent. She had plans for his future and marriage was not to be countenanced at present. It was therefore with all of the ardor of youth that her son used his time otherwise.

"We must be on our guard against forming our conception of Augustine's vicious living from the Confessions alone. To speak, as Mommsen does, of "frantic

57 - Augustine, Confessions, Book 1-5,8, p. 23-25

58 - Bertrand, Louis, St. Augustin, p. 65

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dissipation" is to attach too much weight to his own penitient expressions of self-reproach. Looking back as a bishop, he naturally regarded his whole life up to the "conversion" which led to his baptism as a period of wandering from the right way; but not long after this conversion, he judged differently, and found, from one point of view, the turning point of his career in his taking up philosophy in his nineteenth year. This view of his early life, which may be traced also in the *Confessiones*, is probably nearer the truth than the popular conception of a youth sunk in all kinds of immorality." ⁵⁹

This was not to continue indefinitely, however, for a friend of the family became interested in Augustine and planned to pay the expenses which would be incurred at the rhetorical school at Carthage. This benefactor, named Romanianus, was exceedingly wealthy and comes in for his portion of recognition in saving for the Church, the lad whom he saw as reckless Augustine.

Augustine had not given up the thought of further study but was willing to wait until the way cleared so that he might go on. He showed his appreciation of Romanianus' action by dedicating his first book to him. The support which was given him must have been of more than meagre figures for Augustine was able to live far from want of any kind.

59 - Loofs, Frederick, The New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia, p. 365

THE SECRET

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CHAPTER FIVE THE RHETORICAL SCHOOL AT CARTHAGE

A. ENVIRONMENT AND ATMOSPHERE

All that could be found in Thagaste and Madaura could be found on a larger scale at Carthage. It was a magnificently constructed pagan city. It was then called the new Carthage, the old one having been destroyed by Scipio in 146 B.C. On the site of the ancient city the new city was built and it gave its welcome as of old to ships entering the harbor. The great temple of AEsculapius surveyed the city from a neighboring hill and overlooked the temple of Saturn (formerly Baal-Hammon, or Moloch). There was also a temple to Astarte. Gods and goddesses from the far east held sway.

"Probably one of the first sights to arrest the thoughts of the young Augustine in the great city was one connected with religion. One could not go far in the streets of Carthage without meeting a number of strange creatures - men who had divested themselves of the last trace of manliness. They wore the bright, flowing tunics of women, their yellow skin was elaborately powdered and the lips a brilliant red, their voices were high-pitched and squeaky, their hair wet with perfumed oil, their fingers glittering with diamonds, and they studiously imitated the gait and demeanour of women in every movement. They were the sexless priests from the great temple of Tanit, parading their repulsive condition and still more repulsive practices "in every street and square of Carthage.""⁶⁰

Games and spectacles kept Carthage amused and entertained from morn till night. Chariot-racing, dancing, wrestling, tight-rope walking, the gladiators, the games of the circus, all of these held the undivided attention of the people. Theatres in which conjurors and acrobats alternated with rhetoricians took the attention of the population. There was in all of it a certain viciousness which characterized the entertainment as being of Carthage. A priest of Marseilles writing later said that Carthage was the cesspool of Africa and that Africa was the cesspool of the world. It is easily seen that in such an environment education as such would have a hard fight to retain its identity. Yet such was done.

"On leaving school, ambitious young men place themselves in the hands of the rhetorical teacher, under whom they learn all the arts, with a view to conversation and public speaking. Knowledge for knowledge' sake hardly enters into the calculation of the Roman. With him rhetoric, the power of saying, takes the place of philosophy, the power of thinking." 61

B. ITS TEACHERS AND CURRICULUM

The rhetorical school was a professional school comparable to our college and was especially designed with the sole objective of training youths in rhetoric and oratory so that they might be well equipped to enter the fields of public

service. They could be traced back directly to the old Sophists' schools. The rhetorician had to depend upon his pupils for his salary but he was the best paid of the whole system. The Emperor Diocletian set the following scale of prices to be paid the teachers and assistants:

	Denarii per month
"Pedagogues (who conducted children to school).....	50
Reading-masters.....	50
Arithmetic masters.....	75
Grammatici and teachers of geometry.....	200
Rhetoricians.....	250 (62)

Domitian had issued an edict in 95 A.D. similar to one of 161 B.C. banishing all philosophers and rhetoricians from Rome but through all the years the practice had been followed and the Imperial Edicts practically ignored. In 333 A.D. rhetors and physicians as well found a friend in Constantine who granted them many immunities.

"It is difficult for an age nurtured on exact history and science, and vividly interested in public affairs, to understand the almost hysterical excitement which the itinerant professor of rhetoric could excite in the second or in the fourth century. If he was a man of reputation in his art, people rushed to hear him declaim, as they will do in our times to hear a great singer, or actor, or popular preacher. Provincial governors, on a progress through their district, would relieve the tedium of official duties by commanding a display of word-fence or declamation by such a master as Proaeresius, reward him with the most ecstatic applause, and conduct him home in state after the performance. A man like Libanius associated on equal terms with the highest civic dignitaries. In the last years of the fourth century, at a time of great events and momentous changes, Symmachus,

when writing to Ausonius, finds the only interesting subject at hand to be a rhetorical display which a rhetorician named Palladius had just given at a fashionable gathering; and words almost fail to express the admiration of that ordinarily calm and dignified senator for the performance." 63

Only the wealthier or more aristocratic families could send their boys to these schools. In addition to oratorical and legal training, the pupils received scientific and philosophical training as well. Here were taught the Seven Liberal Arts of the Middle Ages;- Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. Concentration was made in the first three subjects. The debate was the special form which this training took and among the writings of the satirists we find the following questions upon which much time was spent;

"Was Hannibal justified in his delay before the walls of Rome?" "Was a slave about whose neck a master had hung the leather or golden token (the bulla, worn only by the free Roman youth), in order to smuggle him past the boundary, freed when he reached Roman soil wearing this insignia of freedom?" "If a stranger buys a prospective draught of fishes and the fisherman draws up a casket of jewels, does the stranger own the jewels?" 64

These and other similar problems involving Roman and moral law had a prominent place in the curriculum. Declamation and debate in their widest possible meaning covered the whole field. Quintilian claimed that the grammar school should ac-

63 - Dill, Samuel, Roman Society, p. 425

64 - Monroe, Paul, Text Book in the History of Education, p. 202

quaint the boy with literature and that the rhetorical school should give him a knowledge of music to help with gestures and to train the voice; arithmetic and geometry to aid in settling lawsuits relating to land; astronomy to understand the movements of the heavenly bodies and the references of the literary writers. Dialectic was the foundation of all the other studies. For the orator it was indispensable. His training in logic aided him in detecting fallacies in his or others reasoning. The rhetors taught on the basis that man is a rational being and that speech is the means of communication between the reason of one man and that of another. Reason represented the content and speech the form. Thought was considered private and speech, public. Thought without speech might as well not exist, as it is only through speech that it becomes a thing to be considered. This in itself was the argument offered by the rhetors in support of their system. Because of it, the inclusion of varied subjects was defended. The result was that the orator who successfully completed his studies became a veritable encyclopedia, speaking fluently on all subjects from memory. Having this definite objective in view as an end, this training had more of a professional stamp than cultural.

"Quintilian enumerates the qualifications of the orator as follows: a knowledge of things (gained through a mastery of literature); a good vocabulary and an ability to make careful choice of words; a knowledge of

human emotions and the power of arousing them; a gracefulness and urbanity of manners; a knowledge of history and of law; a good delivery; a good memory. Beyond this, he holds, that no one can be a good orator unless he is first a good man." 65

So much emphasis was placed on style and sound that the inevitable happened. The form rather than the content came to be the end of education. The rhetorician rather than the thinker became the model of the schools. Verbosity and redundancy were two of the failings of the schools at this time. Education for its social advantages and not for the good which might be gained from it was the legitimate offspring of such a system.

"Education lacked the deep seriousness that would have ensured permanence. Its choicest product was the mere verbiage of rhetorical display, based on the ornate and artificial morsels of Asiatic oratory which had ousted the severer oratory of the great day of Athens. Not the scholar or the philosopher, but the rhetorician or sophist was the hero of both school and public in all parts of the world." 66

C. AUGUSTINE'S REACTION TO THE RHETORICAL SCHOOL

In 371 Augustine came to Carthage. Around him were all of the bizarre sights which taken as a whole made up the life of the city. He entered his name at the school of a man named Democritus and began making new friends. The students

65 - Monroe, Paul, Text-book in the History of Education, p. 203

66 - Boyd, W., History of Western Education, p. 85

James Madison was a great
advocate of the Bill of Rights
and the separation of powers.
He was a member of the
Virginia Convention and the
Federal Convention.

In 1787, Madison was elected to the
Virginia Convention. The Convention
was held in Richmond. The
Convention was the first time
that the people of the United States
had a say in the government.
Madison was a member of the
Federal Convention. The
Convention was held in Philadelphia.
Madison was a member of the
Bill of Rights.

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THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The Bill of Rights was the first
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people of the United States
had a say in the government.

1 - The Bill of Rights was the first
time that the people of the
United States had a say in the
government.

living there reserved for themselves the right to certain indulgences in recklessness whenever they felt impelled to do so. They did so in organized groups and called themselves the Eversores which signifies demolishers or subverters. Boys attending school for their first year often bore the brunt of this outlawry. Augustine became a passive accomplice with them never at any time distinguishing himself in their activities.

"When he reached Carthage toward the end of the year 371, every circumstance tended to draw him from his true course: the many seductions of the great city that was still half pagan, the licentiousness of the students, the theatres, the intoxication of his literary success, and a proud desire always to be first, even in evil." 67

Augustine, in spite of the many invitations to enjoyment, applied himself to his studies and became more skilful than any of his companions in the art of arranging words so that the crooked would appear straight. He soon reached the head of the class and nothing in his estimation was too good for him. While he was yet worshipping words, he was required in his course of study to read a work of Cicero entitled Hortensius. Its effect upon the young student was astounding. The work has been lost to us but from other sources we know that it was a dialogue in defence of philosophy.

"The 'Hortensius' no longer exists; but we can clearly make out its spirit from the remaining works of

the man: a high moral flight, a serious interest in the pursuit of truth, but on an uncertain foundation, stimulating rather than strengthening the principles; a book well adapted to wean a youthful mind from the wild life of a student to introspection and the study of the highest questions. And this it actually did for Augustine;" 68

That it had a revolutionizing effect upon him, he confesses;

"This book altered my affections, and turned by prayers to Thyself, O Lord; and made me have other purposes and desires." 69

He could well afford to have other desires for he had run the gamut of licentiousness in Carthage. Here he had found himself surrounded by unholy loves, the lure of stage-plays, and all manner of evil.

"To love then, and to be beloved, was sweet to me; but more, when I obtained to enjoy the person I loved. I defiled, therefore, the spring of friendship with the filth of concupiscence, and I beclouded its brightness with the hell of lustfulness; and thus foul and unseemly, I would fain, through exceeding vanity, be fine and courtly." 70

It was soon after his arrival at Carthage that he had taken a mistress who later bore him a son which he named Adeodatus, the gift of God. To her he was faithful until 385. That she was a Christian is hinted in the Confessions:

68 - Harnack, Adolf, Monasticism and the Confessions of Augustine, p. 84

69 - Augustine, Confessions, Book 3-7, p. 36

70 - Ibid -1, p. 32

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp contrast to the warm blanket I had been sitting under. I looked around and saw a few other people walking towards the building. The entrance was a large, arched doorway with a sign above it that I couldn't read. I walked in and found a long line of people waiting. I stood at the back of the line and waited. The people in front of me were talking and laughing. I felt a little out of place. I was wearing a dark coat and a hat. I was looking at the floor. I was trying to be invisible.

That is how I felt when I stepped out of the car. I was a stranger in a strange land.

I was looking at the floor. I was trying to be invisible. I was a stranger in a strange land.

He said well not to worry. The car was waiting for me. I was a stranger in a strange land.

He said well not to worry. The car was waiting for me. I was a stranger in a strange land.

He said well not to worry. The car was waiting for me. I was a stranger in a strange land.

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It was a long wait. I was looking at the floor. I was trying to be invisible. I was a stranger in a strange land.

A woman was talking to me. She was a stranger in a strange land. I was a stranger in a strange land.

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp contrast to the warm blanket I had been sitting under. I looked around and saw a few other people walking towards the building. The entrance was a large, arched doorway with a sign above it that I couldn't read. I walked in and found a long line of people waiting. I stood at the back of the line and waited. The people in front of me were talking and laughing. I felt a little out of place. I was wearing a dark coat and a hat. I was looking at the floor. I was trying to be invisible.

That is how I felt when I stepped out of the car. I was a stranger in a strange land.

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50 - 1000
40 - 1000
30 - 1000
20 - 1000
10 - 1000

"Did I not dare even while the solemnities in Thine honour were being celebrated and within the very walls of Thy Church, to desire the deadly fruits of lust and to plan to obtain them?" ⁷¹

It was perhaps in church that Augustine first saw and planned to get the girl who stayed at his side so loyally for over thirteen years.

Into this state of affairs the influence of Hortensius came to convert him to philosophy, a conversion which was to precede a greater one later. The mere worship of words seemed empty to him after this reading and never did he return to it with his former enthusiasm.

"A change had certainly been wrought in Augustine's mind. No longer would he whet his tongue, but seek to elevate his spirit; no longer juggle with words for love of gain, but pursue holy truth even at cost of sacrifice, no longer defile himself with illicit pleasures, but once ⁷² more speak to God in prayer."

Although he had been since seven years of age a good student, it was only now that he really began to think and it was at this point that the real thinker began to make his contribution to the world. Up to this time he had been merely meeting requirements and satisfying his own selfish vanity. From now on he was to give rather than receive.

"Beneath Augustine the traditionalist lay Augustine the thinker, and as a thinker he gave law not only to the Church but to the world...His characteristic mark as a thinker was the

⁷¹ - Augustine, Confessions, Book 3-5, p. 35

⁷² - Papini, Giovanni, Saint Augustine, p. 55

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inward gaze; the realities of consciousness were the primary objects of his contemplation; and from them he took his starting-point for reflexion on the world. Antiquity supplies no second to him in the breadth and acuteness of his psychological observation." 73

Had Augustine never come to the rhetorical school perhaps he would never have heard of the Hortensius, perhaps he would never have come to himself. It showed him that there was something finer in the world than the life which he was then living and the ideals which he was then following. Where he had been on the defensive, he now is on the offensive. Truth became his goal and relentlessly he began his search for it. Recollections of church services came up in his mind and he thought that perhaps he might find Truth in the Scriptures. He set out with the belief that he could easily master this difficulty even as he had overcome all previous obstacles. In this he was doomed to disappointment. As he read the Scriptures he felt the urge to humility but his pride would not allow him to enter by such a humble door. He turned his back on them in something akin to disgust. But he was puzzled.

To his waiting mind there came the call of the Manichees a religious sect who linked the name of Jesus with Truth. Eagerly Augustine turned to them with the full expectation of reaching a goal near at hand. The Manichees laid great stress on pure and holy lives and with a well-sounding argument about

Truth they had gained many followers. But Augustine had never followed anyone blindly when searching for something definite. For nine years they held his attention and he gave them an undivided loyalty. In their ranks, however, he met with disappointment after disappointment. They made an appeal to his intellectual training but with this very training he so well acquitted himself that he became dissatisfied with them and their doctrines. He was yet restless.

With all of his training he was equipped to be a teacher of rhetoric and armed thus he journeyed first to Thagaste, then back to Carthage and finally to Rome and Milan. It was while at Milan that he met Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan, and the man who afterward baptized Augustine. Had Augustine followed the path of least resistance he would doubtless have become a curiale as his father was before him. As a teacher of rhetoric Augustine went finally to Milan. He had become interested in Neo-Platonism which claimed his attention for a number of years. Step by step he was able to go from Neo-Platonism to Christian theology. A trace of the old Augustine is seen when he goes to the church to hear the oratory of Ambrose. He is caught by the challenge and simplicity of the address. Curiosity becomes chained up with intellect and he deliberately searches out a way of greater understanding for in the theology of Ambrose he had found no conflict. Cicero and Hortensius, Victorinus' translations of Neo-

These things are not new, but they are new to the
modern world. The modern world is a world of
science and technology. It is a world of
progress and change. It is a world of
new ideas and new discoveries. It is a world
of new challenges and new opportunities. It is a
world of new hopes and new dreams. It is a
world of new possibilities. It is a world of
new beginnings. It is a world of new
possibilities. It is a world of new beginnings.

Platonism both gave to Augustine a higher plane upon which to travel and live. The conversion of Victorinus brought the argument still more closely home to Augustine. A conversation with Pontitianus who recommended the reading of the story of the monk, Antony found its completion in the words of a child, "Take up and read." It was Romans 13:13-14 which he read and the words of Paul a Christian which brought him his long-sought-for rest.

Augustine's training in the elementary school had first opened his eyes to the world. His training in the grammar school had opened the world to him through literature. His school days at Carthage opened still more widely these and other doors through which he was to pass in his strenuous journey. The depths to which he had descended made the heights all the more alluring and desirable. Their light was dazzling when contrasted with the dim clouds of licentiousness. Augustine had found his truth through the devious paths of education. He had had to become thoroughly acquainted with evil paganism to overcome and master it.

"His ideal and that of his friends was not St. Antony, but a society of wise men, as conceived by Cicero, Plotinus, and Porphyry. No obtrusive Church dogmas as yet disturbed the philosophical dialogues of the friends; but their minds were ruled by a sure belief in the living God; and in place of the old uncertainties about the starting-point and aim of all knowledge of truth, they now lived in the assurance given by the revelation

of God in Christ and by the authority of the Church. The question whether happiness is secured by the search for truth or by the possession of truth, was mooted by Augustine in the circle of these friends, and decided in favour of the latter hypothesis. He resolved to pursue his unceasing investigations further; but the last and highest truth he sought no more, convinced that he had found it in subjection to the authority of God as proclaimed by the Church." ⁷⁴

When he had firmly established himself in the Christian faith he used the same tools which had prevented his attaining his goal and used them to help others. He does not warn others to avoid the way he came rather he recommends the use of grammar and rhetoric for the Christian teacher:

"The art of rhetoric being available for the enforcing either of truth or falsehood, who will dare to say that truth in the person of its defenders is to take its stand unarmed against falsehood? For example that those who are trying to persuade men of what is false are to know how to introduce their subject so as to put their hearers into a friendly or attentive or teachable frame of mind, while the defendants of the truth are to be ignorant of that art? Who is such a fool as to think this wise?..." ⁷⁵

He felt that oratory could serve the Christian cause as well as the pagan and recommended it to be used in that manner. He followed up all of his educational recommendations by doing whatever he recommended for others. His experience was vital to him and its influence is still felt. The problem is

74 - Harnack, Adolf, Monasticism and the Confessions of Augustine, p. 166

75 - Boyd, William, History of Western Education, p. 95
Quoting Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, Book 4-2,3

with us today and the advice of Augustine born out of the
conflicts in his education cautions us against its dangers.

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SUMMARY

SUMMARY

In this thesis we have endeavored to present the education of Saint Augustine and show that it portrays phases of the Roman - Christian interaction of the late fourth century. The story of his education was selected because it seemed to present to best advantage all of the phases of the conflict. His later years exhibited the triumph of the Christian over the Roman program. That his educational life should reflect this meeting of two different educational theories is interesting.

Born in Thagaste, November 13, 354 of the Christian Monnica and the pagan Patricius, Augustine reflected in his blood the two streams which carried on the educational processes of that day. At the age of seven he was sent to the elementary school at Thagaste from a home where the gods of Olympus were denied to a school atmosphere where these same gods of Olympus were affirmed. Here he was instructed in reading, writing and reckoning. Here he was taught by pagan teachers, bent against his will to obey them, compelled to adhere to their system by a harsh discipline and allowed no sympathy of any sort. He entered at this time a school system which was Roman in organization but Grecian in intellectual content. He was accompanied to school by a pedagogue who carried his equipment, watched over him but was no special friend of his. It was here that he was shown for the first time the

doors through which he would have to pass if he were to be an educated man of the accepted social standing. Here he remained until he was twelve years of age.

The nearest Grammar School was at Madaura, a city about thirty miles from Thagaste. To this School Augustine was sent. Here he received instruction from a Grammaticus, acting in a similar capacity to the Ludi Magister of the Elementary School at Thagaste. Grammar and literature in their very widest sense were emphasized in such a manner as to include composition, elocution, ethics, history, mythology and geography. Here were laid the foundations for the further study of oratory. To be an orator or rhetorician was held to be one of their highest ambitions. The curriculum was constructed so as to proceed toward that objective as a definite goal. A little music was added for the benefit which the voice would obtain from it. At this point in the educational system many boys stopped. Their parents could not afford to send them further. Here they had studied such authors as Homer and Menander in the Greek and Vergil, Horace, Sallust and Livy in the Latin. Here for the first time the boys' attention was called to the content and from it they received their moral and ethical instruction. The Greek authors had taken their gods and had invested them with all of the baser passions and desires of mankind. They made no effort to realize the gods on a higher plane than they. They made them appear to be fickle, undependable,

jealous creatures in whose hands men were but mere pawns. Homer had performed one thing, that of approving through splendid literature, attention paid to the gods. But he did not take the next step, that of raising the gods themselves to such a high moral and ethical plane that they would be worthy of worship. He allowed them to be sensuous and their licentiousness became the mode of action followed by school-boys. This life was looked upon as an end in itself and not as the Christians regarded it, as a means of preparation for another life to come. It was a base program and left the pupils on a much lower moral plane when they discontinued their studies than they had been before they had taken them up.

Beyond this point in education only the favored sons of the wealthy were permitted to go. The entire system was voluntary and paid for by the boys' parents. Those who were privileged were sent to the rhetorical schools held in practically all of the large cities. Augustine was sent by a patron Romanianus, soon after the death of his father Patricius, to Carthage to attend the rhetorical school of a certain Democrates. Here his outside life away from the school room was practically unbridled even as it was at Madaura. But Augustine was enough of a student to retain a strong ambition to master his books. Democrates was known as a rhetor and gave a series of courses comparable to those of our colleges. Here special attention was paid to oratorical and legal training in addition to which there

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twenty-seventh is the fact that the...

twenty-eighth is the fact that the...

was added the famous seven liberal arts, Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Music, Astronomy and Geometry. Much time was spent in mastering the old masters of literature which gave a backward trend to all of the training. In mastering their words, their ideas as well were taken over so that it may easily be seen that the low pagan morals and ethics were further encouraged and held in these schools as well. Augustine distinguished himself here at Carthage particularly in the fields of dialectic and rhetoric. All catered to his vain pride and in none of them did he feel the urge to reconsider any words spoken to him by his Christian mother Monnica. Licentious living occupied his spare time while the worship of words occupied his mind. While at Carthage he met the young woman who is nameless to history but with whom he remained for thirteen years. Of this illicit union there was born a son, Adeodatus who was baptized with his father years later in Milan.

After completing his education at Carthage Augustine returned to Thagaste where he became a teacher of rhetoric. He soon returned to Carthage and then left for Rome and Milan, where he furthered his teaching of rhetoric. Against oratory as such and against splendid literature as such, Augustine in later years held no brief. He did not, however, spare his words in condemning the low moral and ethical content of the two. He recommended that Christianity take over

was found the same day. (Listed as a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z, aa, ab, ac, ad, ae, af, ag, ah, ai, aj, ak, al, am, an, ao, ap, aq, ar, as, at, au, av, aw, ax, ay, az, ba, bb, bc, bd, be, bf, bg, bh, bi, bj, bk, bl, bm, bn, bo, bp, bq, br, bs, bt, bu, bv, bw, bx, by, bz, ca, cb, cc, cd, ce, cf, cg, ch, ci, cj, ck, cl, cm, cn, co, cp, cq, cr, cs, ct, cu, cv, cw, cx, cy, cz, da, db, dc, dd, de, df, dg, dh, di, dj, dk, dl, dm, dn, do, dp, dq, dr, ds, dt, du, dv, dw, dx, dy, dz, ea, eb, ec, ed, ee, ef, eg, eh, ei, ej, ek, el, em, en, eo, ep, eq, er, es, et, eu, ev, ew, ex, ey, ez, fa, fb, fc, fd, fe, ff, fg, fh, fi, fj, fk, fl, fm, fn, fo, fp, fq, fr, fs, ft, fu, fv, fw, fx, fy, fz, ga, gb, gc, gd, ge, gf, gg, gh, gi, gj, gk, gl, gm, gn, go, gp, gq, gr, gs, gt, gu, gv, gw, gx, gy, gz, ha, hb, hc, hd, he, hf, hg, hh, hi, hj, hk, hl, hm, hn, ho, hp, hq, hr, hs, ht, hu, hv, hw, hx, hy, hz, ia, ib, ic, id, ie, if, ig, ih, ii, ij, ik, il, im, in, io, ip, iq, ir, is, it, iu, iv, iw, ix, iy, iz, ja, jb, jc, jd, je, jf, jg, jh, ji, jj, jk, jl, jm, jn, jo, jp, jq, jr, js, jt, ju, jv, jw, jx, jy, jz, ka, kb, kc, kd, ke, kf, kg, kh, ki, kj, kk, kl, km, kn, ko, kp, kq, kr, ks, kt, ku, kv, kw, kx, ky, kz, la, lb, lc, ld, le, lf, lg, lh, li, lj, lk, ll, lm, ln, lo, lp, lq, lr, ls, lt, lu, lv, lw, lx, ly, lz, ma, mb, mc, md, me, mf, mg, mh, mi, mj, mk, ml, mm, mn, mo, mp, mq, mr, ms, mt, mu, mv, mw, mx, my, mz, na, nb, nc, nd, ne, nf, ng, nh, ni, nj, nk, nl, nm, nn, no, np, nq, nr, ns, nt, nu, nv, nw, nx, ny, nz, oa, ob, oc, od, oe, of, og, oh, oi, oj, ok, ol, om, on, oo, op, oq, or, os, ot, ou, ov, ow, ox, oy, oz, pa, pb, pc, pd, pe, pf, pg, ph, pi, pj, pk, pl, pm, pn, po, pp, pq, pr, ps, pt, pu, pv, pw, px, py, pz, qa, qb, qc, qd, qe, qf, qg, qh, qi, qj, qk, ql, qm, qn, qo, qp, qq, qr, qs, qt, qu, qv, qw, qx, qy, qz, ra, rb, rc, rd, re, rf, rg, rh, ri, rj, rk, rl, rm, rn, ro, rp, rq, rr, rs, rt, ru, rv, rw, rx, ry, rz, sa, sb, sc, sd, se, sf, sg, sh, si, sj, sk, sl, sm, sn, so, sp, sq, sr, ss, st, su, sv, sw, sx, sy, sz, ta, tb, tc, td, te, tf, tg, th, ti, tj, tk, tl, tm, tn, to, tp, tq, tr, ts, tt, tu, tv, tw, tx, ty, tz, ua, ub, uc, ud, ue, uf, ug, uh, ui, uj, uk, ul, um, un, uo, up, uq, ur, us, ut, uu, uv, uw, ux, uy, uz, va, vb, vc, vd, ve, vf, vg, vh, vi, vj, vk, vl, vm, vn, vo, vp, vq, vr, vs, vt, vu, vv, vw, vx, vy, vz, wa, wb, wc, wd, we, wf, wg, wh, wi, wj, wk, wl, wm, wn, wo, wp, wq, wr, ws, wt, wu, wv, ww, wx, wy, wz, xa, xb, xc, xd, xe, xf, xg, xh, xi, xj, xk, xl, xm, xn, xo, xp, xq, xr, xs, xt, xu, xv, xw, xx, xy, xz, ya, yb, yc, yd, ye, yf, yg, yh, yi, yj, yk, yl, ym, yn, yo, yp, yq, yr, ys, yt, yu, yv, yw, yx, yy, yz, za, zb, zc, zd, ze, zf, zg, zh, zi, zj, zk, zl, zm, zn, zo, zp, zq, zr, zs, zt, zu, zv, zw, zx, zy, zz).

these two fields and use them to its best advantage. To encourage this action he set about making compendiums which would aid materially in this work. His sensitive nature, his inquisitiveness, and his keen, searching intellect make the story of his education reflect the late fourth century struggle with startling vividness.

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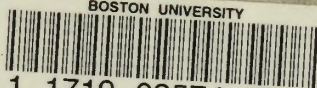
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